342 Central Asian is the high outer wall which surrounds the dwelling houses, together with the gardens and courtyards belongint to them; these surround the houses on all sides, and completely shut off the outer world. These outer walls are entered from the street by only one gate, behind which a special inner wall is built in order to obstruct the view into the courtyard from the street. They form, as it were, the fortress of each house owner /229/, which no trespasser has the right to break
183 into. Within his walls the Central Asian is his own master, and the administrative authorities never venture to infringe upon the sacredness of the private dwellings, especially the women's quarters. This is what has made the collection of a more exact population census impossible up to now. For according to Central Asian mores, it is already regarded as an impertinence if one asks the father of a family only for the number of his wives and children, or about events transpiring within his four walls.

/Figure 82, p. 63a. Caption: Cross section of a Sart dwelling

1. Veranda
2. Veranda columns
3. Room door
4. Window opening
5. Hollowed place for overshoes
6. Niches in the wall
7. Smoke hole
8. Pool
9. Fodder trough
10. Alfalfa Supply for the winter
11. Terrace
12. Outer wall./

342 The space enclosed by the outer walls already mentioned is divided into two parts, which are strictly separated and are connected only by a low narrow garden gate. The larger part, lying next to the street, forms the men's quarters. Here the father of the house lives with his grown sons and the male relatives and servants who are always living with him, here he carries on his business, and receives visitors and strangers. /Figure 83, p. 63a. Foundation plan of a Sart dwelling. (The lines in the sketch indicate canals.)

1. Living rooms. 2. Veranda. 3. Sheds. 4. Outhouse. 5. Pond. 6. Terrace./ The other part is alloted exclusively for the residence of the women and children, and it may be entered only by women. Otherwise the only man allowed is the father of the /230/ house. (1)

183 1. The sacredness of the women's quarters is so great in the eyes of the Central Asians, that they are profaned even

183 by the glance of a stranger. In 1886 in Baysun when I had to carry out astronomical observations from the roof of my dwelling, because there was no other suitable place, all the surrounding houses were emptied of their occupants for the night in question.

342 Each of these two parts is divided again into two or perhaps three subdivisions, depending on the circumstances: the living quarters, the courtyard and the garden, the last of which is usually lacking among the poorer people. Especially in arid regions and in towns densely built up, the inhabitants must content themselves with a simple court, while the gardens are relegated to a place outside the town walls. Where there is a garden, it is usually divided from the court and dwelling houses by a wide partition wall. As a rule, the general arrangement of the dwelling houses, sheds, courts, and gardens is that indicated in the two sketches above (Figures 82, p. 63a and 83, p. 229), of which the first shows the vertical cross section, and the second the ground plan of an average dwelling.

The dwelling houses, which consist of one or more rooms situated next to each other, the number depending upon the financial means of the owner, are built along the outer wall in such a way that this wall always forms the rear wall of the dwelling. The dwellings are almost exclusively one-story houses, which is partly due to the building material used, and partly to the frequent earthquakes. (2)

731 2. The frequency of earthquakes differs widely in different parts of Turkestan. While rare in many regions, as in Samarkand, for example, other places are often visited by earthquakes. The town of Vernoye /Alma Ata/, for example, was almost completely destroyed by one on June 9th, 1887, and since then it has felt earth tremors of greater or lesser intensity almost every day. Also in Osh, at the eastern end of the Fergana valley, there were almost daily earthquakes for a period several years ago. In Tashkent there are on the average about a dozen earthquakes in the course of a year. On the whole in Turkestan the earthquakes are light and rarely result in the caving in of houses and the loss of human life. In Tashkent I experienced only two such earthquakes in fifteen years, of which the one of November 29, 1886 was the strongest and caused considerable damage. The greatest earthquake in Turkestan of recent times was the

5: Pipes S-4 (1953) 1955 RL1 Turkestan RL1

the Russian; but instead of constituting the substance of ethnic identification, as it did before the Revolution, today it forms merely one of its many attributes.

CUSTOMS

Although most national customs of the Central Asian Turks are in one way or another connected with Islam, they are by origin and function sufficiently distinct from it to be treated independently, the more so that they are affected differently by Soviet policies: whereas Communism is openly hostile to religion, it either tolerates customs or attempts to take them over for its own purposes.

National customs have fared much better under Soviet rule than religious practices, in part as a result of this tolerant attitude of the regime and in part because they can be better reconciled with the spirit of Westernization. While Islam has suffered a serious decline, national customs have either remained intact or undergone a transformation which has modified somewhat their outward manifestations without diminishing their hold on the population. In regard to customs, the following seems to be the general rule: the natives abandon or modify those customs which are utterly incompatible with the improvement of living standards, but they cling tenaciously to the traditions which either do not interfere with material progress or can be modified to serve it. Where abandonment or adjustment is necessary, the natives often prefer to adopt the customs of their more advanced Muslim neighbors than those of the Russians or other Europeans.

This pattern emerges clearly in the institution of marriage, which can be analyzed in its three main aspects: the method whereby the marriage is arranged; the formalities connected with the engagement; and the wedding ceremony.

Traditionally, in Muslim communities of Central Asia marriages were arranged not by the couples concerned, but by their parents. Engagements were frequently made when the prospective bride and bridegroom were still in their childhood, and occasionally even before they were born. This custom was in keeping with the elevated position of the father in the Muslim family, and with the seclusion of women in the urban and rural communities of Turkestan; among the nomadic Turks, the high bride price (*kalym*) was a further factor inhibiting marriage outside parental authority.

Inasmuch as this practice runs contrary to the breaking up of family control and the emancipation of women implicit in Westernization, it is being abandoned. Everywhere, and particularly in the urban centers, the youth is becoming less and less dependent on the family, and, with the active encouragement of the regime, frees itself from its control. Coeducational schools, participation in sports, the growing practice of social

5: Pipes S-4 (1953) 1955 RLl Turkestan RLl

352 The same principle[1] applies to housing and furniture. The natives adopt
177 freely and widely articles of utility, such as kerosene lamps, samovars, and iron stoves. But they resist efforts of the authorities to introduce chairs, tables, and bedsteads, which to them seem quite unnecessary. "Not only those collective farm families sleep on the floor which as yet have no bedsteads," writes a recent Soviet observer of conditions in the Kirghiz republic. "Sometimes a purchased bedstead, instead of being used for its purpose, stands all made up as a decoration, while the family continues
[353] sleeping on the floor." [2] Even the most Westernized Muslim intelligentsia in the cities demonstrate a desire to preserve a link with tradition by decorating a single room of an otherwise Western-style apartment in the native manner.

342 House construction among the old settled groups of the population seems
177 to follow traditional lines, with minor innovations, such as the use of whitewash for the walls and floors. Among the recently settled nomads, whom the Soviet regime wishes to have acquire permanent buildings, a curious compromise has been attained: the natives spend one part of their time in the permanent structures and another part in the traditional yurt (nomadic tent) erected alongside the houses. On the whole, one gains the impression that among the Turkic groups which had been settled during and since the period of collectivization, the yurt continues to prevail, while in the mountains it is still the exclusive shelter of native inhabitants.

183 The general picture which emerges from a survey of native customs
177 indicates that they are adhered to far more loyally than are religious traditions. The causes for this are threefold. In the first place, a considerable part of the native population of Central Asia was only superficially affected by Islam, while remaining loyal to local traditions. In the second place, national traditions are on the whole not contrary to the spirit of Westernization, and can in most cases be well adapted to the demands of a secular, utilitarian society. And, finally, the Soviet regime treats local customs far more gingerly than religion, trying to destroy them more through example and infiltration than through outright suppression. The native population clings to its customs, surrendering them only when they are utterly incompatible with material progress of society, and when it does modify traditions, it tries to synthesize the innovations with tradition. The native may be persuaded that it is a good thing to possess an iron bedstead, but often he cannot be convinced that sleeping on a bed is preferable to sleeping on the floor. Similarly, he may agree that eating by fork and spoon is hygenically preferable to eating by hand, but he refuses to agree that pork and potatoes are superior to lamb and rice. This attitude gives native customs a considerable resiliency to external pressures.

[2] S. M. Abramzon, *Ocherki kul'tury kirgizskogo naroda* (Frunze, 1946), p. 75. Abramzon's book supplies interesting data on the culture of the Kirghiz in the post-World War II era, much of which supports the conclusions derived from interviews with refugees.

1 [i.e., the discarding of traditions for no reasons other than utility -- Analyst]